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ABSTRACT

The paper considers new career patterns that may be developing for individuals in the academic profession. Data were collected from 293 men and women doctoral recipients in the years 1963-65 and 1970-72 in nine fields from three prestigious universities. The relationship between academic careers and family responsibilities from the time respondents received their degrees until 1983 were analyzed. Findings showed more flexibility within individual academic career patterns than previously noted in the literature. Some scholars used "hidden passages" to cope with some of the family pressures exerted on academic careers. Such coping mechanisms involved using such accepted academic opportunities as postdoctoral, visiting, or temporary appointments; research leave; part-time work; and delayed tenure review to accommodate individuals' parental roles in conjunction with academic careers. Includes 26 references. (Author/JDD)

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HIDDEN PASSAGES TO SUCCESS

IN THE

ACADEMIC LABOR MARKET

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Abstract

With increased recognition that career and family patterns intersect and influence one another, this paper considers some new patterns that may be developing for individuals in the academic profession. Where previously a fairly rigid standard for an academic career path was the primary route to success, newly-emerging gender roles for men and women in the family suggest that career patterns may begin to show more variation.

Data were collected from nearly 300 men and women doctoral recipients in the years 1963-65 and 1970-72 in nine fields from three prestigious universities. The relationship between academic careers and family responsibilities from the time respondents received their degrees until 1983 were analyzed. It appears that in their interactions with academic institutions, scholars use "hidden passages" to cope with some of the family pressures exerted on academic careers. Such coping mechanisms would not necessarily show up on resumes or curricula vita, because they involve using accepted academic opportunities such as postdoctoral, visiting or temporary appointments, research leave, part-time work and delayed tenure review to accommodate individuals' parental roles in conjunction with academic careers.

Introduction

Academic career patterns have been assumed to follow one of two possible paths. An individual might follow a traditional career pattern, assuming an assistant professorship after completing the Ph.D., earning tenure after about six years, often with a concurrent promotion to associate professor, followed by a final promotion to full professor sometime later in one's career. Or, the doctoral recipient might instead opt for a series of term appointments, serving as lecturer, visiting scholar or professor, or instructor, at the same institution or at a number of different colleges and universities. Indeed, some of today's "gypsy scholars" combine teaching individual courses at two or three different places to piece together a full-time salary. According to earlier studies of academic careers (Caplow and McGee, 1958), embarking on the second path meant eternal consignment to such transitory appointments or to those smaller and lesser known colleges of little distinction or prestige -- "academic Siberia" -- from which one could never emerge.

The rigidity of the first pattern left an unresolved dilemma in its wake. Clearly, the first, "traditional" career pattern was the ideal for a bright and motivated individual. Yet the years of doctoral study and the "tenure track" prior to the crucial tenure decision, with increasing expectations for productivity in teaching, research, procuring of research funding, and publishing, coincided with the years in which most individuals marry and have children. Marriage and similar relationships and, especially, raising children are energy-consuming endeavors, taking precious time away from the scholarly activities which lead to measurable productivity. Is it possible to combine a successful academic career with marriage and children? In particular, how have women, who biologically must be the childbearers and

traditionally have been the primary caregivers and home-makers, combined academic careers and family?

Historically, the early years of increased expectations for academic productivity, following World War II and the rise of research funding, came at a time when few women were entering doctoral programs and women were actively discouraged from pursuing work outside the home. During these years, the archetypal "academic wife" patiently catered to her professor husband's needs, being a good hostess when necessary, assisting with preparation of academic work, taking care of home and children, and putting up with odd hours. As decades passed, married women and mothers entered the labor market in greater numbers. In higher education, a new dimension was added when more women chose and were allowed and even encouraged to enter the academic profession.

As women entered the academic profession in greater numbers, it became apparent that academic careers were influenced by a wider variety of factors than had previously been considered. The first literature considering the intersection of family and academic career patterns focused almost exclusively on academic women. Yet, as more married women have entered the labor force and as more career options have opened up to them, the resulting dual-career couples have meant that academic men also increasingly find the need to consider the relations between career and family, examining the expectations of the academic profession, discovering new role models, and exploring available options for greater flexibility to manage two careers within a family. In addition, some men are re-examining the confines of traditional gender role expectations, and would like to explore ways of becoming more involved with their families and other life roles while continuing their careers.

There has been little exploration of the possible flexibility of academic career patterns, or consideration of what happens to those who cannot or choose not to fit the current patterns. In examining career patterns, one of several questions emerging is: Are there "hidden career passages"[1] through which those who do not fit the typical academic career pattern can pass and still succeed in the academic profession?

A 1985 study (Muller, 1985) investigated the relationship between academic careers and family patterns by addressing three primary questions: What are the career and family patterns of doctoral recipients? What relations exist between the timing of certain career and family events? In what ways do the career and family patterns of academic women vary from those of academic men? Three emerging phenomena prompted this study: a trend toward examination of the relationship between work and family (Gysbers et al, 1984; Kanter, 1977), fluctuations in the academic labor market, and the increasing numbers and acceptance of women in the academic profession. There had not been much exploration of academic career patterns or what variations in the pattern were possible or widely accepted. The study found, among other things, that many individuals do manage to "succeed" in the traditional sense, being awarded tenure at leading research universities, while undertaking other commitments to marriage and children. Some of these successful career patterns, however, showed evidence of the use of "hidden passages" as a coping mechanism for the dilemma posed above.

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[1]I am grateful to David Tyack for having first suggested to me the notion of women's use of "hidden passages" to achieve their goals in a sexually structured environment. The concept was introduced in a class at Stanford University in 1980, in the context of the ways nineteenth century women found to accomplish their aims within the confines of a sexually structured society.

"Hidden passages" are means by which an individual opts for a certain form of professional activity to allow greater flexibility or freedom to accommodate families and careers in the context of pursuing very demanding professional roles. The professional activities often are readily accepted variations in a resume or curriculum vita, such as postdoctoral or visiting positions, fellowships, and other special appointments in the academic profession. Or, the variation may not show up on a resume, such as part-time work or other negotiated strategies. These variations in the career pattern become "hidden passages" when they coincide with demands on the individual not related to the profession -- childbearing, childrearing, geographic relocation due to a spouse's professional move, deaths or severe family illnesses, and so forth.

This paper offers a condensed description of the study which led to the hypothesis of "hidden passages" in academic career patterns and discusses some possible implications.

A Theoretical Framework

A macrosociological model proved very useful in approaching questions related to the relationships between families and careers. This model, developed in a 1976 paper by Constantina Safilios-Rothschild, considers work and family as two previously separate systems now being forced to establish relations because of the increasing prevalence of dual career families. The theory examines how recent increases in married women's employment have placed stress on the traditional relationship between the two systems -- familial and occupational, resulting in change within each system, and suggests how such changes might vary depending

upon the structure within the individual's particular relationship to each system.

According to Safilios-Rothschild's theory, work and family were appropriately separate as long as the linkage between the familial and the occupational system was made only or primarily through the husband; occupational segregation, sex discrimination, sex role socialization, and women's lesser attachment to the labor force all contributed to the separation between work and family. Now, however, many families have dual linkages to the occupational system, with both husband and wife employed in occupations of similar status.

In some developing societies, wives may occupy positions of similar status and reward as their husbands, but the existence of extensive family support systems makes the separation of work and family still viable. But, argues Safilios-Rothschild, in developed societies, the absence of low-cost or readily-available child care and other services combined with families' dual linkages with the occupational system cause stress that result in a series of structural changes in both familial and occupational systems. Within the family, a redefinition of familial roles becomes necessary so that the division of labor equally taxes the time, energy, and resources of spouses with similar occupational roles. Thus, we might expect to find husbands more actively involved with responsibilities formerly taken on by wives, such as child care and housework.

In addition, the emergence of dual linkages with the occupational system affects the basis of exchange between men and women, such that women, no longer dependent on men to provide status, may choose mates based upon characteristics other than men's aspirations and access to high status lines. Indeed, status inequalities between spouses in terms of income,

power, and prestige may become of less crucial importance so that love, sexual attraction, and companionship could become equally important determining factors in selection of a mate.

Within the occupational system, expectations for employees' obligations may need to be changed to accommodate the dual linkage of husbands and wives to the system. Thus, we might expect to find more opportunities for part-time work, parental leaves, and flextime. In addition, Safilios-Rothschild suggests that the dual linkages result in pressures to rethink the concept of work continuity and the necessity and desirability of uninterrupted work records.

According to this analysis, although some structural changes in family and work that result from dual linkages may be universal, others are more relevant to specific occupational groups or families. For instance, some couples desiring equal status dual linkages with the occupational system, and high occupational attainment in occupations whose structure is slow or difficult to change, may adopt the "structural change" of childlessness. Others may engage in serial marriages, such that each marriage represents the best adaptation for a particular occupational or life stage. Still others may employ semipermanent arrangements of living together or other communal arrangements with considerable flexibility to allow dual occupational linkages.

If we consider a sample of doctoral recipients in accordance with this theoretical perspective, we would expect to find that dual linkages between familial and occupational systems have led to a variety of strategies employed to cope with the resulting stress between the two systems. Within colleges and universities, we would expect to see an increase in both the use and availability of options such as part-time work, leaves of absence, and

voluntary delays of the tenure clock. These options run counter to some firmly established practices within the academic profession. In addition, in recent times job openings have been scarce and qualified applicants plentiful, so the changes may come later rather than sooner. As the demand for faculty increases or the supply decreases, as some predict for the late 1990s, we would expect to see greater use of these options. On an institutional basis, we might expect to see variations depending upon the demand and supply of faculty for that particular institution.

In occupations which are not very flexible, or those in which change is slow, the more immediate effect of the stress created by dual linkages may be found in the familial system, with choices not to marry, to divorce, or not to have children being possible coping strategies. We would expect to find these choices among doctoral recipients involved in families with dual linkages, but we also would expect to find more immediate and less drastic coping mechanisms such as greater sharing between spouses of housework and child care.

Safilios-Rothschild's analysis needs further refinement before it can be universally applied; it has been criticized for primarily addressing the problem of equally high-status rather than equally low-status occupational linkages within families (Tangri, 1976). She suggests that the systems changes which will occur require deep-rooted sociopsychological changes and are expected to run into resistances on the part of both men and women, but does not indicate how these changes will take place, or to what extent they are required to be widespread before structural changes take place. Nor is it clear what will prompt these changes in other than high-status occupations. Yet her analysis is quite useful for a study of doctoral recipients nearly all of whom are in high-status occupational positions; any married woman in such

a sample is likely to be in a family with dual linkages, and thus in a situation where structural changes in her occupational or familial system will have to occur.

A Review of Selected Literature

A pervasive omission of the general literature on the academic labor market has been any speculation or analysis of how an individual's career pattern might be influenced by family roles.[1] In contrast, the literature on academic women has often focused directly on the combination of roles of professor, mother, and wife. Thus, in investigating extra-professional influences upon academic career patterns, it is necessary to draw heavily upon the literature which deals with academic women. Literature dealing with academic men's family concerns is nearly non-existent.

Little has been studied about the interaction between family patterns and academic careers. For instance, in the academic profession, as in some others, there is no readily apparent optimal time for childbearing; the prime years of childbearing usually occur just when the pressures to establish one's career are greatest. The structure and culture of the professional[2] academic labor market,[3]

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[1]McGee's (1971) study of the labor market of eleven private Midwestern colleges is a notable exception. He marked the importance of wives' preferences and influences in determining the mobility of male professors. While a wife's "power" was generally restricted to a veto and had to be exercised quite subtly, it was nonetheless found to be a factor in the market decision-making process.

[2]Here I use "professional" as Bernard (1964) has done, to distinguish regular tenured and tenure-track personnel from those with "fringe benefit status" who fit in at the margins of the academic profession, such as lecturers, visiting scholars, research associates, and adjunct professors. The labor markets for those with "fringe benefit status" are considerably more flexible, but it has been assumed that individuals can rarely move from these labor markets to the professional academic labor markets (Caplow and McGee, 1958).

[3]As Brown (1967) has noted, the idea that one single academic labor market exists is erroneous. But the traditional male model for an academic career still holds for any of the professional (see footnote above) academic labor markets.

like many other arenas in the world of work, are geared toward a traditional male model and allow little leeway for departure from its expectations. This model assumes a male faculty member (Caplow and McGee, 1958) accompanied by a wife at home to look after his social and domestic needs (Hochschild, 1975; Fowlkes, 1980). Nonetheless, some professors have managed to combine careers and family roles in ways that do not rely on traditionally structured sex roles.[1]

Three classic large-scale research projects are particularly important background for this research: Bernard's (1964) synthesis of much of the material pertaining to academic women at that time, Astin's (1969) survey of 1,547 women who received the Ph.D. in 1957 and 1958, and Centra's (1974) survey of 3,658 randomly selected men and women doctoral recipients from 1950, 1960, and 1968. In addition, a more recent comprehensive report by the National Research Council on career outcomes in a matched sample of men and women Ph.D.s (1981) was useful in providing background information and found that gender differences in academic rank and pay persisted despite marital or family status. Other important studies have been limited to a small, select population or to one particular aspect of the determinants of academic career patterns. The literature offers a good deal of evidence indicating that extra-professional roles and responsibilities have a significant influence on professional advancement in the academic profession.

Kanter (1977) has suggested that for most people, the structure of work and the constraints of occupations may be the most critical elements in shaping

[1]By traditionally structured sex roles, I mean the scenario in which men work full-time outside the home and women stay home, caring for children and doing housework. By default, then, any academic women who are married, and particularly those with children, are combining work and family in ways that do not rely on traditionally structured sex roles. There is evidence (Fabe and Wikler, 1978; Kramer, 1976) that some academic men, too, are departing from their traditional sex roles.

personal lives. She notes five aspects of the structure and organization of work which seem most important in shaping and influencing family systems: 1) the relative absorptiveness of an occupation, 2) time and timing, 3) reward and resources, 4) world view, the cultural dimension of work, and 5) emotional climate. It is the second aspect, time and timing, especially the timing of major work history events, upon which my research focused. As Kanter notes:

> Daily, weekly and yearly rhythms are not the only way work time and timing enter into family life. There is also a longer term aspect: the way timing of major career events over the life cycle of the worker and major family events over its life cycle intersect and interact.

As long ago as 1958, in their classic study of the academic marketplace, Caplow and McGee noted that women could not look forward to normal academic careers. Hochschild (1975) has suggested that "the classic profile of the academic career is cut to the image of the traditional man with his traditional wife." Our understanding of academic career patterns may be flawed if it is always based upon a traditional male model. Gilligan (1979) has pointed to the need to recognize that women's life cycle patterns have a legitimacy in and of themselves. Bernard (1981) has proposed that a separate female culture exists, such that examining women's life patterns within the context of models based upon male experience is fruitless.

One interpretation is that the existing academic career subcontracts work to the family -- work women perform -- and that without changing the structure of this career and its relation to the family, it will be impossible for married women to move up in careers and for men to move into the family (Hochschild, 1975). Yet an increasing proportion of women doctorates are married (Centra, 1974; Astin, 1981), and it may be that this increase implies that a change in the structure of the academic career is under way.

Scholarship and marriage are not combined as easily for women as they are for men.[1] Marriage may provide supports as well as strains for the pursuit of a career. Strains of marriage upon a career often involve constraints of geographic mobility or competition between spouses. As Marwell *et al* (1979) have noted:

> Job switching is the rule in academic careers, and it pays off in upward mobility. Since academia is essentially a national labor market in specialized positions, one must take advantage of strategic opportunities and make job shifts when and where they appear. This requires the flexibility to make geographic moves, especially early in the course of one's career.

Special problems may emerge for dual career couples both of whom work in academe because of the difficulties in finding two jobs in the same or nearby institutions.

Opting to have children complicates academic careers, usually more so for women than for men. Since it is quite common in our society for women to take on most or all of the responsibility for care of the children, it is women whose careers have been most curtailed if they have children. Astin (1969) found the proportion of married women doctorates who were childless was twice as large as the proportion of women of the same age in the general population. A study of faculty in 1980 showed 61% of the women had no dependent children, while only 30% of the men had none (Astin, 1981). Bernard (1964) quotes Margaret Mead as saying, "the academic world is fundamentally hostile, by tradition... to those aspects of femininity which involve child bearing."

For those women who do decide to combine children and academic careers, as men have done in the past, more often than not the timing of

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[1]See Muller, 1985 for a more complete review of this literature.

childbirth is critical. Usually there is a need or desire to take some period of time away from one's professional work, or at least to curtail the time spent in such work.[1] But there are difficulties encountered in academe by women who wish to withdraw from the labor market temporarily to care for very young children. As Bird (1979) noted:

> The more promising a career, the more likely it is to lead straight to the top, the more a woman has to lose by taking time out for a baby. If you step off the ladder in any rewarding, advancing field, you not only lose your place, but may never get back on it again...
>
> The bind of conforming to the male career ladder will probably be a bigger problem for women starting their careers in the 1970's than it was when all career women were anomalies who weren't allowed on the ladder to begin with and had to make their ways around the system, rather than rising with it.

It has been thought to be nearly impossible to absent oneself from the professional academic labor market for a time and then re-enter at a tenure-track or tenured level (Caplow and McGee, 1958). Strober and Quester (1977) reported that of 212 women Ph.D.s employed full-time as academic economists, only 9% had ever had a gap in employment of six months or more since receiving the doctorate, and Astin's (1969) study of women who received the Ph.D. in 1957 and 1958 found that after ten years, less than one-fifth of the 91% who were employed had interrupted their careers, and those interruptions averaged only 14 months.

In some respects, faculty are thought to suffer less from the pressures of childrearing than working parents with more rigidly-defined schedules of work (Kamerman, 1980). Yet Fowlkes (1980) points out:

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[1]Even when an individual does not leave or curtail her work in the least while pregnant and after childbirth, her colleagues may assume that she has done so, with similar consequences for their evaluation of her work. Pregnancy in the workplace, and psychological beliefs surrounding it have not been much explored, but anecdotal evidence suggests that further study might provide some surprising evidence of widespread mythology concerning the professional abilities of expectant and new mothers.

> On the other hand, the much-touted flexibility of academic work can be overemphasized. In reality... it is a flexibility that pertains more to the possibility of making minor alterations in daily routines than to any shifts in the overall structure and chronology in the academic career, which requires scholarly production at a certain level on an implicit time schedule to assure academic advancement.

She also notes that the "inner-directedness" of academic work yields not only flexibility but a particular kind of anxiety, the pervasive feeling that work is either never done or, once done, is never adequate.

Data Collection and Results

The data for this study were collected from responses to a questionnaire returned by 293 respondents (approximately 45% of the original sample of 659) who had all received doctorates from Stanford, Yale, or M.I.T., in the years 1963-65 or 1970-72, in the fields of anthropology, biology, economics, English, history, philosophy, political science, psychology, and sociology. The numbers of men and women in the sample were approximately equal within each field and cohort. To gather detailed data about individuals' career and family patterns, respondents were asked factual questions about their career and family histories; they were encouraged to supply current curricula vitae. Those who received degrees from Stanford and women were slightly more likely to have responded, while those who received doctorates in history were slightly less likely to have responded.

Highly prestigious universities were chosen because their graduates are more likely to be in academic positions and employed in highly competitive situations where the strictures of the academic labor market are most apt to apply. Stanford University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Yale University were selected because of their approximately equally high

prestige, and their ability and willingness to cooperate in providing information needed for the study. Restricting the sample to Ph.D. recipients from elite universities necessarily limits the generalizability of the findings. The restriction, however, allowed an approximation of control for outside factors influencing career opportunity, enabling a greater focus on the development of careers and interaction of family and career.

Once collected, the data were coded and analyzed. Statistics describing the characteristics of the sample were compiled. To complement descriptive statistics and analysis of data, analyses of individual cases were used to gather an impressionistic overview of the career and family patterns of doctoral recipients.

Approximately 72% of the respondents were employed by colleges or universities, and about 80% of these, 90% of the men and 70% of the women, were tenured professors in 1983 when the survey was conducted. The difference between genders in tenured rates was slighter in the second cohort.

Most respondents (59%) were married to their first spouses in 1983; women were more likely to be divorced or separated, and less likely to be remarried than men. Nearly 90% of the sample had married at least once by 1983; of these, approximately 35% had been divorced at some point. This high rate of divorce suggests that academic careers and marriage were especially difficult to combine for respondents in this sample. Two-thirds of the respondents had at least one child by 1983; just under half had two or more children. Men were more likely than women to have had children (74% vs. 60%).

About 90% of the respondents in this sample began or continued academic careers upon receipt of the Ph.D. Three-fifths of the respondents had what might be termed a "typical" academic career pattern -- that is, they

began an instructorship or assistant professorship and then advanced over time through the ranks of assistant professor, associate professor, and finally, if their careers had advanced so far by 1983, to full professor. The proportion of men following this typical academic career pattern was greater than the proportion of women (65% *vs.* 54%). Women were more likely than men to have followed "alternative" academic career patterns, having had series of teaching or research appointments or continuing scholarly work independently, unaffiliated with a particular college or university (14% *vs.* 5%).

The average age for beginning doctoral studies was 23.7 years old; over half (54%) of the respondents received their doctorates within five years of study; the average age at the time of receiving the Ph.D. was 29.5 years old. On average, respondents were 25 years old at the time they first married, if they had married by 1983; of these, more than 75% first married prior to receiving the Ph.D. First divorces occurred at an average age of 34; the average time for divorce was 4.6 years after receiving the Ph.D., and 0.8 years prior to receiving tenure, for those who were awarded tenure. Approximately 35% of those reporting marital history who had ever been married had divorced their first spouses by 1983. Respondents who had children were 29 years old on average when their first child was born; not only does this average age closely coincide with doctoral receipt, but there is an apparent clustering of childbirths right around the time of receiving the doctorate, as seen in Figure 1.

The time between receiving the doctorate and being awarded tenure (time to tenure) was investigated, using both Cox regression and survival data analysis methods. There is great variability in the number of years

between the Ph.D. and the award of tenure: the middle fifty percent of the sample is estimated to be awarded tenure between 4.4 years and 9.6 years after the Ph.D. Men are likely to be awarded tenure at an earlier time than are women. Table 1 indicates estimates for the time between receiving the doctorate and being awarded tenure for the sample. Those with shorter times to tenure were more likely to be: men; those who spend longer earning their doctorates (for men); those who were unmarried at the time they received their doctorates (for women); and those who had not worked part-time or been unemployed during the five years following receipt of the doctorate.

Qualitative analysis of those with long times to tenure indicated that women with long times to tenure were likely either to have spent several years in postdoctoral research positions, to have worked part-time, or to have been denied tenure at one college or university before moving to another. In contrast, most of the men with long times to tenure appeared to have been denied tenure at one place before moving to another. Although this portion of the sample was too small to draw statistical inferences, there was indication that delays in the time to tenure were operative for women who had undertaken postdoctoral positions, but not for men who had engaged in postdoctoral research before beginning a tenure-track appointment.

The cases of those who were still working toward tenure at the time the data were collected in 1983 were considered, and their experiences were similar to those of the respondents who had unusually long times to tenure. These individuals identified themselves as being in "tenure track" positions; they had all received doctorates 11-13 years earlier. These cases were characterized by a wide variety of experiences. Some were apparently progressing in academic careers at a slower rate because they were working part-time, presumably by their own choice. Others had spent several years in

lecturing positions before being appointed to positions as assistant professors. Still others had been denied tenure or left tenure-track positions at one place and started over again in a tenure-track position at another college or university, resetting the tenure clock each time. Some had taken on lengthy postdoctoral research positions before being appointed assistant professors. Others had moved from assistant professorships at one university to another and then to a third, with no particular reason for these moves apparent from the data collected. In some of these cases, it seemed likely that family patterns of marital status or childbirth had influenced career decisions. For example, part-time work may have been chosen because of a desire to spend more time with young children. Postdoctoral appointments often coincided with childbirth and having young children, and their focus on research activity without teaching responsibilities may allow more time and flexibility for family interests; similarly, lecturing appointments usually carry no expectation of research activity, and thus may also offer more time and flexibility. Geographic moves apparently unrelated to tenure reviews may have been occasioned by a change in a spouse's career. In other cases, family patterns seemed a less likely influence.

Conclusions

There appears to be more flexibility within individual academic career patterns than previously noted in the literature. Even some respondents with tenure at major research universities were able to structure their careers to accommodate family roles. Some of the strategies used included part-time work, even in tenure-track positions, slowing the "tenure clock," or timing sabbatical or research leaves to ease the combined pressures of work and family

roles. The presence of such flexibility in some cases, however, does not mean it is available or would be helpful to all.

These findings support the idea that women in the academic profession use "hidden passages" -- either professionally acceptable variations in career patterns, such as visiting or postdoctoral positions, or variations invisible on the resume, such as part-time work -- to accommodate families and careers. Previously, such variations were not very accepted (Caplow and McGee, 1958), or at least do not appear to have been widely available in most sectors of the academic labor market (Bernard, 1964). Evidence of individuals in this sample who have used these "hidden passages" and have also achieved tenure or are still in the tenure track suggests there are now more professionally acceptable variations.

Previous literature on academic women documents some mechanisms for coping with the stress resulting from dual linkages between work and family, describing "strategies" such as remaining single, childlessness, divorce, or employment in marginal positions within the academic profession. These approaches now seem to be accompanied by other options which may not always require that families or prestigious careers be sacrificed. Safilios-Rothschild suggested that as married women have increasingly become involved in careers, creating dual linkages between the familial and occupational systems, changes in one or both systems occur to alleviate the tension caused when women are expected both to behave as men have in the workplace and to fulfill the roles women traditionally filled in the family. The outcomes predicted by this model are consistent with empirical findings.

Such mechanisms for coping with the dual demands of careers and families would not necessarily show up on resumes, because they involve using accepted academic opportunities, such as visiting or temporary

appointments or research leave, or negotiated strategies, such as part-time work or delayed tenure review, to accommodate individuals' other life roles in conjunction with academic careers. Without also considering the timing of major life events, such as marriage, childbirth, and divorce, these career choices would be indistinguishable from choices made for the purpose of advancing one's career.

This hypothesis of the use of hidden passages emerged from the study of career patterns of men and women doctoral recipients. It has not, however, been systematically tested. Anecdotes, references in the literature, and scribbled notes in the margins of the questionnaire offer support for the hypothesis, as does the coincidence of the election of certain career options with major life events and nonprofessional obligations found in this research. To proceed further, a study is needed which specifically asks men and women how and why certain career choices were made, and what factors influenced career and other life decisions. It is likely that if such hidden passages exist in the academic profession, they also are found in other professions. It would be interesting to examine strategies employed by women in law, business, medicine, and other professional fields to determine whether they, too, have access to hidden passages.

The findings of this research suggest that changes in the academic profession are now occurring -- a greater tolerance for less traditional career patterns, for instance -- which may have resulted from changes to alleviate the tension occasioned by dual linkages. In addition, individuals are finding ways of shaping careers to conform with occupational expectations and still allow at least some marginal flexibility for family interests. We would expect to find additional systemic change over time. For instance, the number of years an individual stays in the tenure track before being considered for

tenure may become flexible. The occupational structure will also respond to other internal and external pressures, however, making additional systemic change in response to women's greater pressure in the profession less predictable.

FIGURE AND TABLE

Figure 1:

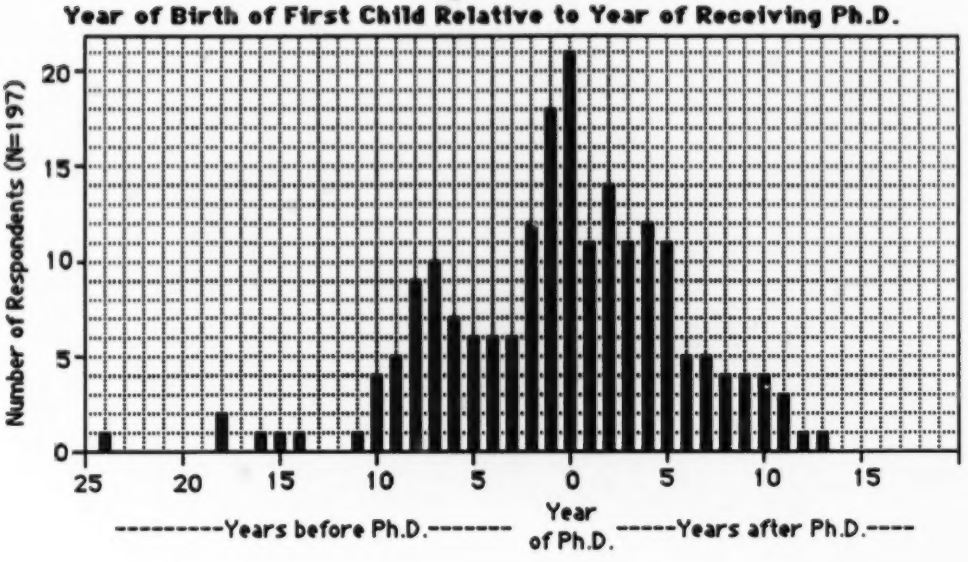

Table 1: Estimates of time-to-tenure, in years

Gender	Cohort	Percentiles of the estimated survival curve		
		75th	Median	25th
Men	Cohort I	4.12	5.34	7.67
	Cohort II	4.10	5.74	8.59
	All	4.11	5.58	8.32
Women	Cohort I	5.80	9.07	11.38
	Cohort II	5.01	7.15	10.73
	All	5.07	7.64	11.01
All	Cohort I	4.27	6.17	9.81
	Cohort II	4.53	6.29	9.46
Total	All	4.43	6.26	9.63

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